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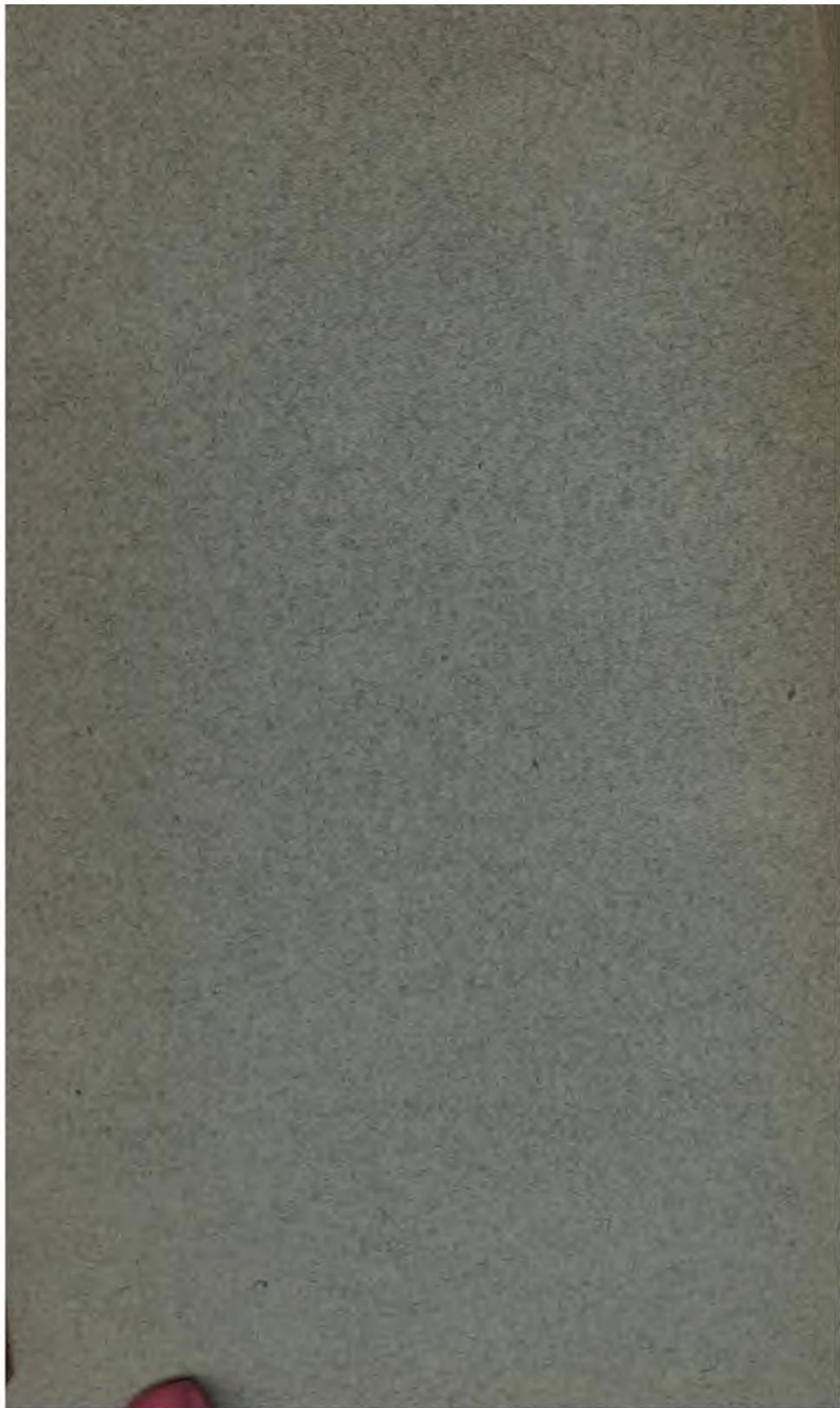
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1880

A COMPARISON

BETWEEN THE FORMS OF GOVERNMENT OF THE
REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY,
OR
REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES,
AND
THOSE OF OTHER NATIONALITIES;

SHOWING

THE SUPERIORITY OF THE FORMER OVER THE LATTER, AND POINTING
OUT THE PARTY THAT HAS BEEN TRUE TO AND DEFENDED ITS FUN-
DAMENTAL PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY, LIBERTY AND JUSTICE,
WHEN THE DANGEROUS THEORY OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY AND
THE LOVE OF HUMAN OPPRESSION LED THE SLAVE-HOLD-
ING STATES TO REBEL AND SEEK TO DISRUPT AND
DESTROY IT: AND SHOWING ALSO, THAT COMMUN-
ISM, SOCIALISM, AND OTHER THEORIES AD-
VANCED BY THOSE WHO THINK THEY
COULD BETTER OUR FORM OF GOV-
ERNMENT ARE NOT NEEDED HERE
IF OUR PRESENT SYSTEM IS
PROPERLY ADMINISTERED.

BY

B. A. ULRICH.

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1880.

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STEREOTYPED AND PRINTED
BY
THE CHICAGO LEGAL NEWS CO.

TO

GENERAL JAMES A. GARFIELD,

THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA ; THE DISTINGUISHED SCHOLAR AND
STATESMAN, WHOSE LONG EXPERIENCE IN THE
CIVIL SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY IN THE
DISCUSSION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE GREAT PO-
LITICAL QUESTIONS OF THE DAY, BROUGHT BEFORE THE
LEGISLATIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT, QUALIFIES HIM BET-
TER FOR FILLING THE IMPORTANT POSITION OF THE
EXECUTIVE OF THIS GREAT REPUBLIC DUR-
ING A PERIOD OF PROFOUND PEACE, THAN HIS
OPPONENT, WHOSE ACTIVE DUTIES HAVE BEEN LIMITED
TO MILITARY AFFAIRS ; AND TO THE BOLD DEFENDER OF THIS
REPUBLIC, WHO HAS EVER BEEN TRUE TO ITS TRA-
DITIONS AND INSTITUTIONS, THIS WORK
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

FOLLOWING is a letter from Gov. S. M. Cullom, indorsing the work:

STATE OF ILLINOIS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
SPRINGFIELD, Aug. 3, 1880. }

B. A. ULRICH, Esq., Chicago, Ill.:

Dear Sir: I have read with much interest your pamphlet entitled "A Comparison Between the Forms of Government of the Representative Democracy or Republic of the United States, and Those of Other Nationalities," etc.

It is an able contribution upon a subject now deservedly occupying public attention. Its historical allusions are very valuable and instructive. Its logic in favor of our own form of Government is as convincing as the conclusion is satisfactory. This is a Nation with a big N, and all the people ought to understand their relations to it as such.

I would be glad to see your work in the hands of every intelligent voter.

Very truly yours,

S. M. CULLOM.

A LETTER written by the lamented Ex.-Gov. Yates, in reference to this document, before it was revised for the campaign of 1880:

STATE OF ILLINOIS, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, }
SPRINGFIELD, June 30, 1864. }

BARTOW A. ULRICH, Esq.:—*Dear Sir*—I have just finished the reading of your manuscript, entitled, “A Short and Practical Treatise on Government, showing the superiority of the United States Government over all others.”

I have found it a very interesting, impartial and able exposition of the different forms of government, clearly defining and contrasting the structure and powers of each, and triumphantly vindicating the superiority of the representative democracy over all others. The analysis of the powers of the constitution, and the distinction between *National* and *State* sovereignty, are concise, lucid and well defined.

No one can read your work without interest and profit; and at no time since the formation of the government has there been such necessity for some plain treatise on its nature, workings, and adaptation to the wants of the people, as now.

I can look to a wide circulation of your work among the people as potent for good, and I could wish to see it a handbook in all the homesteads of the land.

It will be a new stimulus to loyalty, a reminder of the good we are fighting for—nerving the popular mind and heart to hold on with unyielding purpose to a government founded by the best men, in so much wisdom, and so full of benefactions to the people now, and of promise for posterity.

Truly yours,

RICHARD YATES.

COMPARISON OF THE DIFFERENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENTS.

THERE must be in all governments a supreme and controlling power placed in some particular person or assembly of persons from which central point can flow the commands to do or not to do certain things, for or against the good of all under that government.

THE THREE GRAND DIVISIONS OF GOVERNMENT are Monarchies, Aristocracies and Democracies. Any two of these, or all, may be limited and combined in the formation of one government, which would be a mixed government.

A Monarchical form of government is where the supreme and controlling power is placed in the hands of one person; an Aristocratical form is where this power is given to a certain class of people, generally for no other reason than on account of their birth and inheritance; and a Democratic form of government is where this supreme and controlling power is given to the people who compose the nation under that government, either directly or by representation.

Considering government as essential to men in their social state, we will examine these three different forms and also a mixed form of government, and see which is the most conducive to the promotion of happiness and order among them in their various stages of civilization.

FIRST, MONARCHY, ABSOLUTE, AS IN RUSSIA; hereditary, as in England; and elective, as in Germany, when it was united

under one ruler, elected by all the smaller kings and princes of the German States. Under a Monarchical form, where the government is vested in a ruler having absolute power, it is regarded as a despotism. Russia, as an example, shows that the head of the Romanoff family, coming into power originally by the choice of the old families of the nation, gradually assumed and obtained absolute dominion over all the people, and enriched by vast possessions, he and his successors finally towered above sixty millions of people, each like a great Colossus, suppressing all opposition to their intolerable wills. This one-man power is to be feared in every nation and the people must not sleep upon their rights, or they may awake too late, to find them gone forever and their necks under the yoke of despotism.

UNDER A MONARCHICAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT in earlier ages, and partially at the present day, the masses of the people are subject to the will of one man and stripped of all power, comparatively, to act or think for themselves. They are compelled, in obedience to this supreme power, to act towards him and to each other as he desires. Under a rude and uncivilized state of society, where law and order are entirely ignored by the masses, there may be some ground for establishing a degree of order by granting to one person sufficient authority to regulate the disorder and build up a form of society. This has been the history of the past, and we find that men wild and fierce were collected together and formed into a nation and held in check by a single individual having absolute power. This was gained either by conquest, war or through the will of the people in the first instance. THIS ONE-MAN POWER HAS OFTEN OPPRESSED human beings, causing them to perish beneath unjust laws; but the age and the character of the people might have required a severity then equal to their fierceness; neither could men be found so enlightened as to understand the true and civilized methods of government. But now that the world has advanced in civilization, and nations have become regulated in a degree by this imperfect system of government, besides mankind having accumulated knowledge by the experience of many generations, it seems uncalled for that one man shall be permitted to dictate to a great nation, many of whose citizens themselves are as well able to lay down rules of conduct as this one man, claiming the right to rule over them. Then it is, that this

form of government must be ignored as being unsuited to mankind and antagonistic to his security and happiness. Then it is, that, unable to endure the vain, egotistical and capricious rule of one man, which was better, perhaps, in an uncivilized age than the ruthlessness of many, mankind strives for liberation in part, or entirely, from this needless and galling thralldom.

BUT AS CIVILIZATION ADVANCES SOME MAY ASK: Does not the individual who holds the supreme power in the land become familiar with enlightened principles of government and exercise them for the benefit of his people? The answer to this is obtained by considering history, which shows us acts of oppression, injustice and tyranny, which have crushed human nature into the dust and destroyed men by thousands since they have become civilized and Christianized beings. Look at Russia, even to-day, where, before the terrific passions of the Czar, every citizen lives in constant dread of being ruined, transported suddenly to Siberia or of having his property confiscated. This system of government is no better than that of the dark ages. One glance, too, at the contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, which deluged the fair face of England in blood for many years, will show the trouble arising from an hereditary monarchy, through the conflict alone of claimants to the crown.

IN THE LATTER REIGN OF HENRY VI of the House of Lancaster, the House of York asserted its dominant title; and after embruing the kingdom in blood and confusion for several years together, at last established it in the person of Edward IV. Blackstone, Book I, Chapter III, page 204. Upon whom does the great burden of this evil fall? Upon conflicting claimants alone? No! It sweeps the nation from center to circumference, and tears up the foundations of society for no other reason than to gratify the selfish ambition of the person who seeks to reign. When we consider such events as happening in an age of civilization, man having overcome the native fierceness of his nature, and education and enlightenment can be given, whether they are or not, to the people of the nation, it is inhuman and idolatrous to spill the blood of thousands in order that one particular person in that nation shall dispute with the sword the right to wear a crown worn by some other

person. This crown, perhaps representing a power which was wrongfully wrested by force from the people many years before. This, then, is AN ARGUMENT AGAINST AN HEREDITARY MONARCHY, showing it to endanger the happiness of man in an age of enlightenment. It shows that rulers of this kind are not guided by motives of true wisdom and humanity, and care little for the welfare of their subjects. If there are laws for restraining these rulers and to direct the succession of power, they are often disregarded. It has been said that "laws are but cobwebs, which indeed catch the weak and ignorant, but through which the opulent and powerful break with ease."

Lord John Russell says that "to punish men for their opinions or speculative articles of belief, is one of the luxuries which tyranny has invented in modern times." See the action of Henry VIII. who, after throwing aside the authority of the Pope, yielded previously by his predecessors, because he would not grant him divorces as he wanted them, commanded his people to believe six articles of faith, and whatever else he might choose to dictate. What singular presumption is here displayed! How faithfully do great rulers often portray the weakness of human nature! Here was a man, brutal and uncontrollable in his passions, actually ignoring, by his actions all pure religious principles, dictating to a nation, containing many men of real integrity and worth, and of far greater intelligence than himself, a regular code of laws for the guidance of its numerous consciences. He would argue points of religion with those whom he afterwards burned for their strength in a contrary belief. All these examples should convince us that enlightened principles of government do not necessarily come with an advance of general education and enlightenment as long as the government is left to the supreme will of one person.

Whatever partial historians may say in regard to the division of power in England, it was an absolute monarchy in point of fact until after the death of Henry VIII. Otherwise such events could not have happened. Impartial history will show that the great change in the English government which established, in a degree, the liberty of the people, occurred after the execution of Charles I, at the time so condemned by all partial historians, who wrote under fear of a crown, and there

were many of them, as exhibiting the madness, confusion and instability of a deluded people following fanatical democratic leaders, but being in reality the time when the power of civilization and enlightenment and the love of liberty roused the nation and caused it to demand privileges which had been denied in ages past when it was in a semi-barbaric state. At this time, but not before, the great central and exclusive power was broken, and after this the King has been restrained in a great measure, and even, as in the case of James II, at the time of the revolution, entirely removed, and a distribution of power was gained by the nation, visible in the House of Commons as well as in the House of Lords, and the government ceased to be a monarchical government and became a mixed government, and finally a constitutional monarchy. England, under a mixed government, from the time of the revolution of 1688, to the present day, will be treated of below.

ELECTIVE MONARCHY,

As it was in Germany, when united under one ruler chosen by the people. Instead of one king, there were a number of petty princes, who reigned over their little provinces with all the tyranny of an hereditary and absolute monarch. The people were not benefited by this system. These minor kings met together at Frankfort on the Main, in a large hall and council-room, fitted up for them, and where the German Congress of 1863 was held. Here, a chief potentate was elected from among their number, or if they could not agree that way, they elected some foreign prince or potentate. In this way, Charles V. was chosen at one time. The people had nothing to say about these elections. When there was war to be engaged in, however, by the united powers, the great burden fell upon the people, who were considered as subjects, but had little favor as citizens. The people had to endure the grievances of a monarchy, on account of the rulers whose resources were drawn from them, besides the dangers and expenses incurred by the elective monarchy, created above these rulers. The people were forced into useless wars that continually existed between the heads of petty principalities, and were also

obliged to endure the danger of foreign invasions and aggressive wars, through the confederacy existing between these rulers.

Not only the pulpit, the forum and the judicial bench, but the entire system of Universities was kept under the control of these Princes. **DESTITUTE OF FREE SPEECH, A FREE PRESS**, and an elective franchise, the people were but little better than subjects of an absolute monarchy. They were always compelled to bear arms for the execution of the will of their rulers, whether it coincided with their own or not. The people were merely the tools of old, proud, overbearing, aristocratic families, who whether united or separated, thought they inherited the right to make the people under them act according to their imperious will. The principal reason for the union that once existed between the German princes, was this: They feared the power of the people, and thought they could keep them under subjection better by thus uniting their provinces under an elective monarchy.

ANOTHER OBJECT WAS TO PROTECT THEMSELVES against foreign powers, like France. The revolutions subsequently occurring in Germany were caused mainly by the tyranny of these princes over their subjects. This, together with the jealousy of the rulers of each other's power, finally put an end to the elective monarchy. Through the efforts of Bismarck and by reason of the war of invasion, inaugurated by Napoleon III, Emperor William finally united nearly all the provinces under an empire of which he is Emperor. **THE THEORY OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY IN A REPUBLIC** like that of the United States, would bring our government into a condition like that of Germany under an elective monarchy. It would tend to bring states under the control of home rulers and occasion strife between states, and cause the United States, as a power, to become unmanageable and powerless against a foreign enemy.

More could be said on this branch of our subject, but it will be sufficient to add a quotation from Lord John Russell, who said: "Let not despotism (for in this elective monarchy is found the worst kind of despotism, caused by the rule of petty sovereigns) boast of her advantage. Half a century of freedom, within a circuit of a few miles of rock, brings to perfection more of the greatest qualities of our nature, displays more fully the capacity of man, exhibits more examples of heroism

and magnanimity, and emits more of the divine light of poetry and philosophy than thousands of years and millions of people collected in the greatest empire of the world can ever accomplish under the eclipse of despotism."

ARISTOCRACY.

Next in order is aristocracy. In his treatise on government, Anser calls aristocracy "a government of particular citizens, in right of their wealth, or their family, or their religion, or any other circumstance except capacity and virtue." This is an admirable definition, especially the last part of it, for by leaving the government in the hands of particular families, it is not to be presumed that they will always contain the most virtuous portion of the nation, and those with the best capacity to govern. Neither does wealth or a religious belief argue a suitable qualification for governing. By thus covering the soil with vast domains, rendered unchangeable by the law of entail and disposing of enormous means of influence, is giving boundless power to a few, while keeping out the majority of the people from all participation in conducting the affairs of government. This must be prejudicial to the interests of the masses.

Examples of aristocracies are to be found in Athens, under the control of the four hundred, and the Venetian government which consisted of sixteen hundred nobles. The Athenian government became subverted to an oligarchy, while that of the Venetians was constantly under a distracted and unhappy state; the same individuals being often alternately informers and accusers, spies and suspected. The ruling class were so jealous that they durst not employ home troops, but obtained foreign mercenaries, lest their government should be overthrown by their own citizens. Aristocracies have gained but little favor from historians, and on the whole, they are unpopular forms of government. As Denmark in 1660, and Sweden in 1772, exchanged their aristocratical form of government for a monarchical form, they must have at least considered the former less favorable than the latter, which, as we have shown already, is far from being perfect.

OLIGARCHY.

This is an aristocracy drawn into fewer hands. The government of Scotland became an oligarchy, when, in the reign of James VI, the administration of the public purse, and with it the power of the State, was conferred on eight men, called, on that account, octavians. This form of government has become practically obsolete.

MIXED GOVERNMENT, OR THE COMBINATION OF MONARCHICAL,
ARISTOCRATICAL AND DEMOCRATICAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT,
AS PRESENTED IN THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT FROM THE REVO-
LUTION OF 1688 TO THE PRESENT DAY.

It has taken several centuries to bring Great Britain out of a state of subjection to an absolute monarchy into that of a mixed or limited government under a constitutional monarchy, as it is now under Queen Victoria.

Macaulay, on Mackintosh's history, says: "We are not admirers of the political doctrines laid down in Blackstone's Commentaries. But if we consider that those commentaries were read with great applause in the very schools where, within the memory of some persons then living, books had been burned by order of the University of Oxford, for containing the damnable doctrine that the English monarchy is limited and mixed, we cannot deny that a salutary change had taken place." "When we compare the state in which political science was at the close of the reign of George II, with the state in which it had been when James II came to the throne, it is impossible not to admit that a *prodigious improvement* had taken place." At this time, therefore, or at the date of the revolution, 1688, we can fix the time when occurred the great change in the English government and the establishment of a limited and mixed power in that country. Besides the Toleration Act, and the establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk in Scotland, the authors of the revolution applied a remedy to the great evil that had been occasioned by the granting of certain taxes to the King for defraying the expenses of government, while he had the power when forced by war or by his own profuseness to ask for and obtain additional grants. Macaulay

says: "They settled on the King, not the fluctuating product of certain taxes, but a fixed sum sufficient for the support of his regal state. They established it as a rule, that all the expenses of the army, the navy and the ordinance, should be brought annually under the review of the House of Commons, and that every sum voted should be applied to the service specified in the vote.

THIS IS A DISTRIBUTION OF POWER; the King being the executive, but depending directly upon the people not only for his support, but that of all his projects, and from this time, but not before, England has had some free and healthy principles infused into its form of government. They come from the Democratic branch, which gives new life to the heart of the supreme and ruling power. From this period, the House of Commons has been the strongest arm of the government, often declaring war, concluding peace, besides appointing and removing the prime ministers. Even if the King dissolve Parliament, should the people be of the same mind as their representatives, he would gain nothing by it, for the next Parliament would forward his ends no sooner if they were against the interests of their constituents, the people. Here is exercised the power of the people through their representatives in Parliament. Blackstone condemns Tacitus for treating the notion of a mixed government, formed out of all three governments, and partaking of the advantage of each, as being a visionary whim, and one that, if effected, could never be lasting or secure. "Happily for us of this island," says the learned commentator, "the British Constitution has long remained, and I trust will long continue, a standing exception to the truth of this observation" (of Tacitus). "For, as with us, the executive power of the laws is lodged in a single person, they have all the advantages of strength and dispatch that are to be found in the most absolute monarchy; and as the legislation of the kingdom is entrusted to three distinct powers, entirely independent of each other, first, the king; secondly, the lords, spiritual and temporal, which is the aristocratical assembly of persons selected for their piety, their birth, their wisdom, their valor or their property; and, thirdly, the House of Commons, *freely chosen by the people from among themselves, which makes it a kind of democracy.* As this aggregate body, actu-

ated by different springs, and attentive to different interests, composes the British parliament, and has the supreme disposal of everything, there can be no inconvenience attempted by either of the three branches, but will be withstood by one of the other two; each branch being armed with a negative power sufficient to repel any innovation which it shall think inexpedient or dangerous."

This may have been the nature of the English Government, theoretically, before 1688, yet it could not have been so strictly and practically, and the government so evenly divided in the distribution of its powers, as it now is, until after the Revolution and the changes made during the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. The greatest change must have occurred during the rule of this determined, strange and powerful man. BY THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I, the throne, for the time being, was hurled to the ground, and the crown of England was trampled upon by the people over whom it had looked down so many centuries with its serpentine glitter and mysterious power. Cromwell's entrance into the House of Parliament, his violent address to that body, in which he said, that: "They were deniers of justice, were offensive, profane men, were planning to bring in Presbyterians, and would lose no time in destroying the cause they had deserted," together with this exclamation, "You are no Parliament! Get you gone! Give way to honester men!" and his dissolving the Parliament immediately by force of arms; combined utterly to subvert and destroy the existing constitutional mixed Government. So, at this time, the throne, the crown, the unwritten constitution and the Parliament of England was overturned, and the opportunity given for a great change in national affairs. It came, and with it an INCREASE OF LIBERTY TO THE PEOPLE.

There was no laws in England to uphold the conduct of Cromwell in many of his actions—they were revolutionary—he was, however, the Protector of the rights of the people. Blackstone hardly mentions him, although the ablest and most vigorous-minded ruler England ever had. He says, indeed: "The confusion, instability and madness which followed the fatal catastrophe of that pious and unfortunate prince Charles I, will be a standing argument in favor of hereditary

monarchy in all future ages; as they proved to the then deluded people, who, in order to recover that peace and happiness which for twenty years together they had lost, in a solemn parliamentary convention of the States restored the right heir of the crown." Although this great father of laws is a good and worthy preceptor, yet few at this age and in the United States would consider the assertion of the learned commentator as correct. Cromwell had more executive ability than three-fourths of the men placed upon the throne from either the house of York or Lancaster, and he demonstrated the fallacy of keeping the executive power confined to a princely line, while he proved the benefit of having a man raised up from among the people, acquainted with their real condition, in sympathy with them, and placed in power by their consent. Did the English people recover that peace and happiness which, for "twenty years they had lost," as Blackstone says, when Charles II obtained the re-established throne and had the scorned crown re-lifted and placed upon his kingly head? History does not say so, but it declares Charles II to be a tyrant and one of the worst kings that ever cursed the English throne, while it admits that "the Protectorate was a vigorous administration; that law and order were enforced; that religious liberty was proclaimed; that the rights of conscience were respected; that literature and science were encouraged, etc., and that the nation was as much respected abroad as it was prosperous at home." John Lord, A. M., on Modern History.

Let us consider the ENGLISH GOVERNMENT AS IT EXISTS TO-DAY, and see if it is altogether suited to bring about the happiness of the majority of the people. It is true that every decade has given its people more liberty, and that, through the efforts of the Liberal party in 1846, they abolished the Corn Laws and established free trade, in opposition to the landed aristocracy, and that they are continually demanding and obtaining new grants of power, still there are many ideas and privileges held by the aristocracy and the hereditary ruler which are annoying and galling to men who love and desire liberty. One of the leading ideas opposed to equality and individual independence is the pretended superiority of the aristocracy over the people. When a very young man, I was seated at a dinner table on a

Christmas in England, at which were several elderly gentlemen both of the English clergy and nobility,—the former of which nearly always sustain the ideas of the latter,—when I asked the question : Gentlemen, why do you not educate the people of your country, universally, as we do, in America? The question seemed to occasion considerable confusion among the diplomatic heads before me. I could see it touched the very main-spring of all their aristocratic ideas of government, and that I was aiming a blow at the old props that sustained the throne and the aristocracy at their weakest points. It was a plea for popular rights and liberty against oppression and subjugation to hereditary power. They sought to evade the question by saying that any young man who was qualified and willing, could obtain an education in England. I said: I have traveled some over this little island, and found the greater number of the people living in gross ignorance. Ignorant of reading, writing, and also of the language of their own country, speaking different dialects in every shire. "Ah!" they said; "that is provincialism." "Call it what you will," I answered; "it is a standing argument in my mind that you have no complete system of free education, and that you do not give the people, universally, the benefit of free schools. If you did, they would soon show it by speaking and understanding the same, or nearly the same, language. I have asked your hard-worked laborers, both young and old, if *they* have had opportunities of attending schools, like the people of the United States, and their answers have been always, '*no!*'"

This annoyed the gentlemen considerably, and finally I was told the truth. If all were given equal advantages of education, it would produce too much equality between the upper and lower classes. It would cause the latter to be less easily kept in a condition of subordination. They were already getting restless and hard to keep in their places. The ladies said they could not get servants if all were educated. I was given to understand that although it was well enough for America, it was not consistent with the order of things in England, which I was frank enough to admit.

Holding the people under by systematically keeping them ignorant is the invention of aristocrats and kings, and England has not outgrown the system yet.

The day is rapidly coming, however, when free education will be insisted upon for all, and the House of Commons and the liberal leaders, like Gladstone, and men of the Cobden and Bright order, will obtain it; and it will be followed by fresh, though perhaps quiet changes, in the leading ideas of government.

Although there is considerable talk about THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE IN ENGLAND, yet a man now must possess a certain income, pay a certain rent or own a certain amount of property, in order to enjoy the privilege of voting. He can be disfranchised by his landlord, putting down his rent, which has been done. The people are only represented in the House of Commons and have no voice, but are constantly opposed in the House of Lords, composed of an hereditary aristocracy. The press is becoming free, and little or no restraint is placed upon free speech, which is comparatively harmless to them, so long as the Queen and the Lords hold the power they do.

THE PREROGATIVES OF THE QUEEN ARE TECHNICALLY NO greater than our President, but her power descends to her son, or heir apparent, according to fixed rules of descent. It is not a question of merit, or choice, the ruler takes his or her place by virtue of birth. The people have nothing to say about this matter no more than who shall have seats in the House of Lords. Great statesmen and prominent writers have done and are accomplishing much to enlighten the people and restrain the natural tendency of the upper classes to tyrannize over the people. At the time even when its prerogatives were at their height, and it was almost treason to deny the powers of Parliament, yet legislative acts were often criticised by such men, when those acts were unnatural and contrary to reason and justice. The influence of the United States has tended to break down the oppressive rule of the aristocracy of England. Ireland, however, still smarts under the galling yoke of its conquerors, the English landlords, but its people have always found protection and friends in America. The seeds of our free institutions were brought from England as well as France and Germany, but have produced far greater fruit here than they ever could in Great Britain or any country under the rule of an hereditary aristocracy. THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC TO-DAY IS THE BALANCING power in the governments of the world and holds this balance of power

on the side of liberty. Blot out or destroy this Republic and the enemies of liberty and the friends of despotism would rejoice over all the world and their subjects and slaves would suffer from a greater oppression than they now feel.

It must be admitted that a mixed government, like England's is preferable to an aristocracy, an oligarchy, or an absolute and hereditary or elective monarchy, but inferior to a pure or representative democracy.

THE LIBERAL PARTY, under the leadership of Hon. W. E. Gladstone, and other distinguished statesmen, journalists, and writers, are bringing about many radical reforms in England favorable to the general welfare and liberty of the common people. But this great and growing party, that has often struck terror into the ranks of the aristocratic party, could not stand long if it were not for the influence of the free government of the United States over the people of England, and had it not been for the victory of the Republican party over the aristocratic party of the South, that sought to pervert liberty, even if the Republic perish.

DEMOCRACY.

Out of the fiery furnace of the despotic and aristocratic governments of the old world came forth, after a fierce struggle, the Democratic Republic of the new. The American colonies, previously subject to Great Britain, on the 4th day of July, 1776, declared their independence, stating boldly that "all men are created equal; that all have a natural right to liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that human governments are instituted for the sole purpose of securing the welfare of the people; that the government of George III had become destructive of liberty; that an appeal to the sword is preferable to slavery, and that therefore the united colonies of America are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." THESE MEN PROVED THEMSELVES THE BOLD APOSTLES and martyrs of a new gospel that proclaimed human liberty and brought forth a new dispensation establishing it upon the divine right of individual independence that was to take the place, in time, of the old dispensation of the divine right of kings. To gain and per-

petuate the blessings of this new gospel, thousands of noble lives have been sacrificed upon the altar of liberty. Rich blood, warm with sympathy and devotion to the cause of human freedom, has been profusely shed, that future generations might live and rejoice in the light of a national constitution securing to each citizen life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE was made by men who knew too well the terrors and injustice of the old despotic governments of Europe, hoary with vice and corruption. George Washington, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Richard Henry Lee, John Hancock and other leaders of the Revolution understood the inferiority, and utter unfitness for an enlightened people, of a monarchical or aristocratical form of government. They, with a divine inspiration, determined to rid forever and protect one portion of God's green earth from the tyrannical heel of the oppressor and the rule of a privileged class. THEY PROPOSED TO AND DID ESTABLISH upon fresh soil a new empire of freedom—that had long lived in the imaginations of great and liberal minds in France and England—with liberty and human rights as its corners-tone. Although it could never have gained a footing and have fully been developed on the soil of Europe, surrounded by old and jealous kingdoms, it has lived and flourished upon this great continent of the western hemisphere. THESE PATRIOTIC AND WISE FOUNDERS of a Great Democracy held up before the admiring gaze of the whole world a constitution for the guidance, order, happiness and liberty of a rapidly increasing people, and then stepped aside, with their families, and nobly left it for each generation to carry forward. This they have done for a hundred years, and God grant that it may last for a thousand. The superiority of this form of government over all others has been fully demonstrated during the past century, by the wonderful accomplishments and progress made in the United States under its fostering care.

BUT THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC did not spring, fully developed, from the brains of its creators, like Minerva from the brow of Jupiter. It was, and will be, a creature of growth.—First, came the Continental Congress; second, the Declaration of Independence; third, the Confederation of sovereign States, that the democratic party of to-day would like us to return to; and

fourth, the United States of America, with its constitution and its full powers of government, suited to the demands of A NATION.

EVENTS LEADING TO BIRTH OF NATION.

The first Colonial Congress assembled at New York, October 7th, 1765. Nine colonies were represented by twenty-eight delegates. Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen President. A Declaration of Rights was adopted, protesting against taxation without representation.

In September, 1774, the second Colonial Congress assembled in Philadelphia. Eleven colonies being represented. During this interval England continued her policy of war and oppression, and the colonies theirs of resistance. An appeal was sent to the King, and, in 1776, the answer of George III, refusing it and treating the petitioners with contempt, was received. He refused to recognize the Continental Congress. He demanded submission and that the army be disbanded. The Continentals, however, with George Washington at the head of their forces, prepared to free themselves from the yoke of tyranny, or die in the attempt. July 4th, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and the war continued until the surrender of Cornwallis, 19th October, 1781. The final treaty of peace being signed Sept. 3, 1783, by all of the contending parties.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION FOR THE GOVERNMENT of the sovereign States were signed July 9, 1778, by the delegates of eight States. The same month Georgia and North Carolina affixed their signatures, and those of New Jersey and Delaware were signed in February, while Maryland did not sign until March, 1781. This has been called "a loose Union of Independent Commonwealths." Both the executive and legislative powers were vested in Congress, composed of two to seven representatives from each State. It had only delegated powers given it by the States which reserved the sovereign element of power to themselves. It could commence war and establish peace, regulate intercourse with foreign nations, coin money, settle disputed boundaries, and control the public domain. There was no provision made for a chief magistrate or judici-

ary. It was necessary to have the affirmative vote of nine States to adopt an act of legislature. The first difficulty arising under this hastily constructed governments, was the inability of Congress to levy and collect money to pay the war debt of \$38,000,000. There was confusion and instability in the new republic under the articles of confederation, which caused those who had gained liberty and a great country, much anxiety for its safety. In 1785 Gen. Washington and others advised a convention to be called to remodel it. Five States only met the first time, September, 1786, but accomplished nothing, and adjourned to meet May, 1787, at which time all the States, except Rhode Island, were represented. Washington presided. Edmund Yates proposed to set aside the articles of confederation, and **ADOPT A NEW CONSTITUTION**. This was done, and the new constitution, written by Gov. Morris, of Pennsylvania, was reported by the committee appointed to review the articles, and adopted September, 1787. It was ratified September 3, 1787, by Delaware; on the 13th by Pennsylvania; on the 19th by New Jersey; on January 2d by Georgia; on the 7th by Connecticut; on February 6th by Massachusetts; on April 28th by Maryland; then by South Carolina; on June 21st by New Hampshire; on the 25th by Virginia, after a bitter contest; on July 24th by New York; on November 13, 1789, by North Carolina, and on May 29, 1790, little Rhode Island finally made up her mind to ratify it. In accordance with this constitution, George Washington was elected president, and took his seat in the executive chair April 30, 1789.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS FAVORED BY THE FEDERALISTS, Washington, Madison and Hamilton, and opposed by Jefferson, Henry and others—anti-federalists.

This, briefly stated, is the succession of events leading directly to the formation of the representative democracy of the United States. It was not, however, technically, a government of that nature until after the subsequent war to put down the rebellion, the freeing of the slaves, September 22nd, 1863, by proclamation of President Lincoln, and the extension to them of the right of suffrage by an amendment to the constitution.

After passing through the careful hands of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Jay, Benj. Franklin, Washington,

and opposed and criticised by Jefferson and other anti-Federalists, and, after a terrible civil war, to preserve its supremacy and the addition of fifteen amendments, ratified by three-fourths of the legislatures of the Federal states, including those amendments guaranteeing religious freedom; abolishing slavery, and forbidding the abridgment of suffrage on account of race or color; the *Constitution of the United States* stands to-day as one of the most complete and masterly state documents the world has yet seen, for sustaining and directing a representative form of government. Its present conspicuous characteristic is its consistent declaration of equality, and its powerful support of individual independence, and, in these particulars, it stands out boldly before the world, in striking contrast to the written and unwritten constitutions and state papers of other nationalities, under other forms of government. The people living to-day under its benign influences should, and do, enjoy a freedom and happiness never known in any nation before. They are indebted, in a great measure, after the founders, to the heroes of the war to suppress the Rebellion, and the Republican party, since 1861, for the preservation and completion of this document.

It commences : "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." This is a strong root of the grand century plant, placed on the American continent by the early fathers, which the so-called democratic advocates of state-rights will have to destroy before they can change the supreme power granted thereby to the general government. It is not a contract between sovereign states, like the articles of confederation, dependent upon their individual wills for its prosperity and the execution of its powers, but it is the fundamental law of the land, and a supreme constitutional sovereignty, the same as if it existed in the person of a never-dying constitutional monarch with strictly defined and limited powers, but subject to a change of powers as provided for therein.

But this sovereign, unlike those familiar to us in history, demands and enforces freedom and equality among his sub-

jects. They are to elect all their representatives periodically, through their universal possession of the elective franchise, whose powers are limited and defined. The government is divided into three distinct departments, the legislative, executive and judicial. All the powers of the first are vested in a Congress of the United States, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives. The powers of the second are vested in a President of the United States of America, who shall hold his office during the term of four years, and is to enforce the laws of Congress in accordance with the constitution, and he is also Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States. The powers of the third are vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their office during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office. Full faith shall be given in all states to the records of every state; citizens of each state shall be entitled to the privileges of citizens in the several states; new territories may be organized and new states admitted into the Union. The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government and protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive when the Legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence, and the people may alter and amend the constitution by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Congress and the ratification by three-fourths of the legislatures of the several states. Civil and religious liberty is proclaimed with freedom of speech and of the press. The several states are equal among themselves, but all are subordinate to the general government. No state is allowed, under this equitable and just constitution, to fall into the hands of a few tyrannical leaders, who shall with impunity oppress or trifle with the rights of citizens of the broad and supreme general government which is granted power sufficient to protect all who live under it. Section 1, Article XIV, of the constitution ordains that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof,

are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws." "The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it." The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury.

"No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance or corporation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility." * * * * *

"No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or contract with another state, or with a foreign power or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay." Sec. 10, Article 1, Constitution.

From the earliest history of the Constitution, and before its adoption, the people have been divided upon this question: the SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT *vs.* STATE SOVEREIGNTY. It was first the Federalists against the anti-Federalists, or Republicans, and then it was the Democratic party, under the leadership of Jefferson, *vs.* the Federalists; and then, by some strange freak of nomenclature, the controversy was continued between the Democratic party and the present Republican party, from the ascendancy of Abraham Lincoln, who advocated the supremacy of the general government within its own appointed sphere, and limited only as provided for in Article X, amendment to the Constitution, which states that: "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." The Democratic party continued to advocate State rights as its pet theory since the time of Jefferson, who was elected on the first Democratic ticket, but not on an issue of State rights. With him also originated the policy

of giving to the victor the spoils of office, for which policy the Republican party have substituted the civil service.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REBELLION.

THE ADHERENCE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES, especially, to the old doctrine of the anti-Federalists of state supremacy—the Missouri Compromise—the Nullification acts of South Carolina, Calhoun, the great apostle of State rights—Nebraska bill, passed division of on of Demo- Democratic Taney: “That s of the United by any process arper’s Ferry by execution—the election of and of state sov- of South Carolina subsequent seces- Georgia, Louisiana general government Confederate States of by six Southern states, of Jefferson Davis and Vice-President, at on the 8th of same conference, representing effect anything—and the chapter, April 11, 1861, by forced surrender of Major General Confederacy—all com- catastrophe of the rebellion *national Constitution, under* affairs of government since 30, 1789.

Grossberg

HOLD SHELF
MAR 18 1991

ED INTO POWER at an era more

fraught with peril than when the colonies proclaimed their independence, and by the succession of events, filled with terror and blood-shed, burned into the memories of this generation, put down the rebellion, re-organized and re-established the seceded States and placed again in splended running order this magnificent government. It seems to make but little difference in the minds of the anti-Federalists or Democrats, that the United States has re-conquered all the states that seceded—or that in 1787 the Northwestern Territory was ceded to the United States by Virginia, New York, Massachusetts and Connecticut, and that Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, were afterward formed out of this territory being created by the United States—or that Louisiana was purchased of Napoleon April 30, 1803, for \$11,000,000 cash and \$3,750,000 assumed debts due from French citizens to Americans, making \$14,750,000, for a territory of more than 1,000,000 square miles—or that Alaska, with 580,000 square miles, was purchased March 30, 1867, for \$7,200,000, by the United States. All this territory included in the three great territorial acquisitions named, the advocates of State rights have considered, and still seem to consider, although the leaders deny it in the North, as under no obligation to the general government, although settled by foreigners in many cases, and others who had nothing to do with its original acquisition, and that any portion of it, included in the boundaries of a single state, is a little sovereignty of itself, can set up an independent government and refuse to be governed by the constitution and laws of the United States.

In all governments there must be a supreme and controlling power given to some particular person or assembly of persons, from which central point can flow the commands, to do or not to do certain things for or against the good of all under that government, or else there is no government.

THIS SUPREME POWER THE FEDERALISTS SUCCEEDED in placing, after much opposition, in the general government by the adoption of the constitution, and the Republican party has nobly defended that constitution and the principles in it, endorsed so earnestly by Gen. Washington. John C. Calhoun, used the strength of his gifted intellect in defending, like Jefferson, the position of the anti-Federalists. The idea of State sov-

ereignty was held by the slaveholders of the South, as it gave the absolute control of the states in which they lived, into their hands. They could by this means create, practically, little principalities over which they could rule absolutely, and **KEEP IN PERPETUAL SUBJUGATION, THE NEGROES** and the poor whites, free from the interposition of the general government. They would soon have stood, if successful in their endeavors to change the constitution, towards a confederacy of states, the same as the little kingdoms of Germany stood, under an elective monarchy towards the Elector's government. Even now, if the control of each State were left in the hands of local politicians and a dominant party in the State, the liberty of citizens would soon be over-ridden, and a dictatorial and tyrannical home-rule established, and the people would have no redress.

In the sixth article and second clause of the Constitution, it says: "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary, notwithstanding." The adoption of this clause, with the rest of the instrument, by the requisite number of states, and finally by all the states, should have put an end to this controversy. Then an appeal to arms being taken and decided in favor of the same principle, that should have stopped the fight. It must be, the Southern States do not wish to admit the plain position taken by the founders of the government. Any one can see that when the government is placed in many states, it would naturally be subject to many wills; many wills, if disunited, drawing different ways, create weakness in government; and to unite these several wills, and reduce them to one, is the work of more time and delay than the exigencies of the State will afford. Therefore, the power to act should be centralized and placed in the central government, so that it may act independently and supremely. The Democratic idea is opposed to having a government in the only true sense of the word.

By making the general government superior to the state government you create a power that can excite respect from abroad and obedience at home; whereas, by permitting the state gov-

ernments to be supreme, you divide the interests of the nation and have a collection of weak powers inadequately bound together and liable at any day to be rent entirely asunder.

GEN. GEORGE WASHINGTON IN HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS tells his own and all future generations living after him under this government: "Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment. The unity of government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. [A portion of the following was misquoted by Gen. Hancock in his letter of acceptance; the views of Gen. Washington in the supremacy of the general government are not such as the Democrats can indorse.] It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the real edifice of your independence —the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so much prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (thongh often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourself to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest, even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned, and indignantly FROWNING UPON THE FIRST DAWNING OF EVERY ATTEMPT TO ALIENATE ANY PORTION OF OUR COUNTRY FROM THE REST, OR TO ENFEEBLE THE SACRED TIES WHICH NOW LINK TOGETHER THE VARIOUS PARTS, and to the efficacy and permanency of your union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, YOU HAVE IMPROVED UPON YOUR FIRST ESSAY BY

THE ADOPTION OF A CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT BETTER CALCULATED THAN YOUR FORMER FOR AN INTIMATE UNION AND FOR THE EFFICACIOUS MANAGEMENT OF YOUR COMMON CONCERNS." And again: "The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make, and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the rights of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government." THE REPUBLICAN PARTY HAS ENDURED AND FOUGHT FOR THESE PRINCIPLES OF WASHINGTON AND THE FEDERALISTS OF HIS DAY, WHILE THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAS PERSISTENTLY OPPOSED, AND KEPT THE POPULAR MIND UNSETTLED IN REGARD TO THEM.

UPON THESE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES, and others, not enumerated, contained in the Constitution as it now exists, rests this structure of national independence, order and grandeur. The three departments of this representative democracy are, as stated, the executive, the legislative and judicial. The first and last are far more limited than the second, which is given an almost unlimited amount of power, being able to control the laws, institutions and public policy of the country, in all matters coming within the range of subjects intrusted to its care. It is, however, more directly moved and governed by the people, and is continually changing in its membership. It is connected by strong ties to every section of the country, and interested in every quarter, and, therefore, it is a safe depository of the aggregate power of the government.

By the distribution of the powers of government among several branches, according to this fundamental principle of representation, each of these branches, as the Legislative, Executive and Judicial departments of the government become, in its respective sphere, the immediate and equal representative of the people, as the direct source of its depository of the sovereign power. Duer on Contstitution, page 29. Therefore, in this collective body of three distinct departments, all the rays of power of the citizens of the United States should be united as in a center, and form by that perfect union a consistency, splendor and power that shall make it feared, and re-

spected by foreign nations and potentates, and honored and obeyed by the people who voluntarily place themselves under its control. This supremacy and power, however, was not and could not be obtained under a simple confederacy of sovereign States.

When the people have the power to create laws through representatives chosen by them, who shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed, those laws will not be, as a rule, adverse to their interests. If laws, however, are created by those who are not directly bound by them, as in a monarchy or aristocracy, as in many cases, it is reasonable to suppose, and history demonstrates the fact, that those laws are often prejudicial to the welfare of the people.

It is said by jealous monarchical governments and superannuated aristocracies, that a great objection to a representative form of government and the exercising of the elective franchise by the people, is the political divisions and hotly excited contentions of periodical elections, which are thereby created. Lord John Russel, who was certainly not directly interested personally in our government, though he was the friend of the oppressed of Ireland in 1846 and urged means for their relief and was a liberal-minded statesman, said, in answer to such accusations: "Men of noble minds know that these political divisions and **CONTESTED ELECTIONS ARE THE WORKSHOPS OF NATIONAL LIBERTY** and national prosperity. It is from the heat and hammering of the stithy that freedom receives its form, its temper and its strength.

"Every government must include within its scope, at least if it is to possess suitable stability and energy, the exercise of the three great powers, upon which all governments are supposed to rest, viz: the executive, the legislative, and the judicial powers. The manner and extent in which these powers are to be exercised, and the functionaries in whom they are to be vested, constitute the great distinctions which are known in the forms of government. In absolute governments the whole executive, legislative and judicial forms are, at least in their final result, exclusively confined to a single individual; and such form of government is denominated a despotism, as the

whole sovereignty of the States is vested in him; if the same powers are exclusively confined to a few persons constituting a permanent sovereign council, the government may be appropriately denominated an absolute or despotic aristocracy; if they are exercised by the people at large in their ordinary sovereign assemblies, the government is a pure and absolute democracy.

“But it is more common to find these powers divided and separately exercised by independent functionaries, the Executive by one department, the Legislative by another, and the Judicial by a third; and in these cases the government is properly deemed a mixed one. A mixed monarchy, if the Executive power is hereditary in a single person, a mixed aristocracy, if it is hereditary, in several chieftains or families; a mixed democracy or republic, if it is delegated by election and is not hereditary.” “in a representative republic all power emanates from the people and is exercised by their choice and never extends beyond the lives of the individuals to whom it is intrusted. It may be intrusted for a shorter period, and then it returns to them again to be again delegated by a new choice.”

A careful comparison of the grand principles contained in the Constitution of the United States with the principles regulating other governments less favorable to liberty, as above shown, should convince every one of the vast superiority of a representative democracy over a monarchy, absolute, hereditary, or elective, or an aristocracy, oligarchy or a mixture of the three principal forms of government. THE CITIZENS OF THE REPUBLIC SHOULD VENERATE and perpetuate in all its parts and strength a government which thus grants to all equal rights, and ENDEAVOR BY THEIR SUFFRAGES TO PLACE IT FOR THE NEXT FOUR YEARS IN THE HANDS OF THOSE WHO WILL RESPECT AND EXECUTE ITS LAWS AND CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIREMENTS WITHOUT PARTIALITY OR INJUSTICE TO ANY CITIZEN, NO MATTER WHAT HIS COLOR OR POSITION, OR IN WHAT STATE HE RESIDES.

All voters should regard the past records of parties and their leaders, and judge them by their actions, and not simply by their words or present pretensions. The letter of acceptance of Gen. Jas. A. Garfield is in perfect harmony with the past position of his party and himself. The letter of Gen. W. S. Hancock, although a finished document, is not in harmony with the historical antecedents of his party, nor with the present views of its leaders.

